

PEACE NEWS

No. 434 October 6, 1944 2d.

"I refused to fight at Havre" Capt. Douglas-Home tells why

IHAVE definitely refused to fight. When ordered to attack Le Havre, I refused to do so because, rightly or wrongly, I could not bring myself to take part in an operation against troops who admittedly did not want to fight but whose Commander... refused to accept 'unconditional surrender.'

This passage appears in a letter dated "Pas de Calais, Sept. 17," from Capt. the Hon. William Douglas-Home to the Maidenhead Advertiser, which published it last week.

It follows the news (which we reported on Sept. 8) that Capt. Douglas-Home had asked to be allowed to resign his commission, because he did not feel justified "in asking men to do battle for motives which our leaders will not publicize and which I do not, therefore, trust"—a step which, he said in a letter to Peace News in March, he was then considering.

SENT TO MONTGOMERY

A copy of his latest letter has been sent by the War Office to Field-Marshal Montgomery. It was also to be considered by the Judge Advocate at British GHQ.

In it, Capt. Douglas-Home tells of an unsuccessful application he made to be allowed to parley, under a flag of truce, with the German Commander at Boulogne. He also refers to "the German request made last November, offering to evacuate France, Holland and Belgium, etc., in exchange for peace."

Answering other correspondents in the Maidenhead Advertiser who had criticized his views on "Unconditional Surrender," Capt. Douglas-Home went on:

"I do not believe a negative war aim to be worth the bones of one British Grenadier. Yet, according to these worthies, I am to charge forth not as a Captain of my soul but as a Captain of the Royal Armoured Corps, not for my conception of the truth, but for what I regard as being a deliberately false reading of international politics by statesmen playing the old game of power-politics for the second time in twenty years."

"Am I, and those who think like me, not to be allowed to choose whether to live for our own ideals or to die for the negative ideals of two very tired old men? These same people who demand that we should fight regardless of our private beliefs, in the same breath con-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

A FLYING START

IT must have been with deep feelings of relief and gratitude that readers of Peace News learned of the appointment of Corder Catchpool and Maud Rountree as Joint Treasurers of the PPU. It is generous of them to find time for this activity among their many others.

Can we, in response to this appeal and others, free them from all anxiety about funds in the immediate future at least and so give them a flying start?

ALEX WOOD, Chairman.

Contributions to Headquarters Fund since Sep. 22: £49 11s. 5d. Total to date: £458 7s. 8d.

Donations to the Fund should be marked "Headquarters Fund," and will be gratefully received at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

CONFFLICT BETWEEN THE ALLIES Over policies in Europe

Observer's Commentary

N.P.C. PETITION FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE:

REPLY TO AN M.P. AND TO "IZVESTIA"

THE National Peace Council's Petition for a Constructive Peace, the inauguration of which we reported last week, has been publicly criticized in the British Parliament and in Moscow.

During the Commons debate on the war situation Mr. Geoffrey Mander said on Thursday:

"I am somewhat disturbed to notice that a society in this country—I have in mind one particular peace society—which is getting up a petition on the subject of foreign affairs makes no reference whatever to the use of force."

According to Moscow radio, quoted by the News Chronicle on Friday, the international observer of Izvestia wrote of "some unsolicited advisers prattling of a 'constructive peace' to ensure 'security against war and aggression'. We have in mind the petition of the National Peace Council, signed by the philosopher Joad, the economist Laski, and others. It would be difficult to imagine a more false and harmful conception than that advanced by these 'champions of peace'. This strategy of mercy for the German bandits will fail utterly."

THE REAL ISSUE

An official of the NPC protested on Monday at the impression given by these attacks that the Council is in favour of a "soft" peace for Germany.

"A preoccupation with the question of a 'hard' or 'soft' peace," he told Peace News, "is completely irrelevant and unrealistic. Our concern is with a peace which will last."

He pointed out that the statement on "Germany, Europe, and the Future Peace," recently issued by the NPC, makes it quite clear that "a true peace cannot be founded on any condonation of the cruelties and oppressions practised by the Nazis against the Jews, the people of the occupied countries, or against their fellow-Germans."

This statement also recognizes that "the world is entitled to guarantees against the recurrence of German aggression," while at the same time realizing that an enduring peace cannot be based on preponderant military power but must seek to achieve the integration "of a new Germany... into a new Europe... sharing obligations and benefits on equal terms with her neighbours."

CAMPAIGN GETS UNDER WAY

Meetings are being held in several large provincial cities to set up Joint Petition Committees to co-ordinate the petition campaign locally.

Gerald Bailey, Director of the NPC, last week addressed such meetings in Sheffield, Leeds, Newcastle, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. In Leeds and Newcastle public meetings also were held.

John Lamming, campaign organizer, was to speak at a Bristol meeting on Wednesday this week. Today (Friday) he will be at Swansea, tomorrow at Cardiff, at Leicester on Monday, and Nottingham on Tuesday.

Gerald Bailey will be speaking at Exeter (private and public meetings) on Thursday, at Birmingham on Oct. 24, and Cambridge on Oct. 30.

ENEMIES

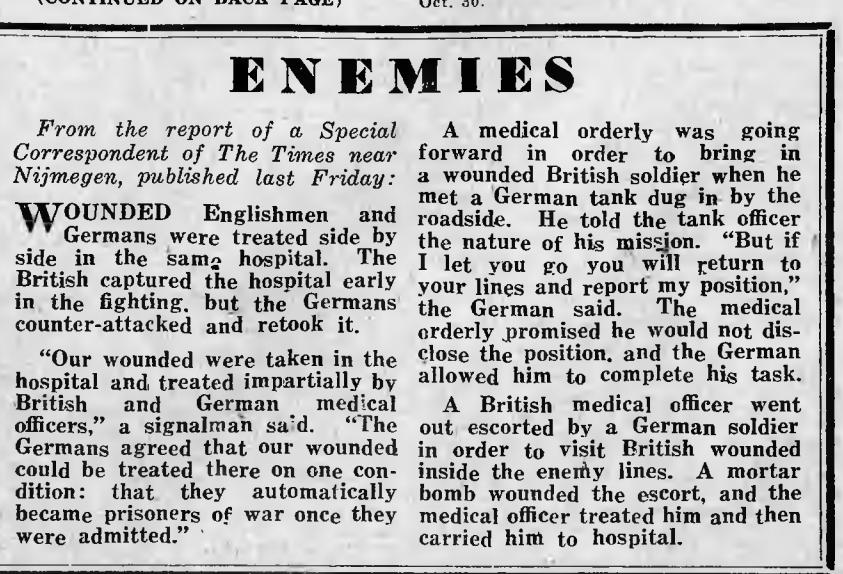
From the report of a Special Correspondent of The Times near Nijmegen, published last Friday:

WOUNDED Englishmen and Germans were treated side by side in the same hospital. The British captured the hospital early in the fighting, but the Germans counter-attacked and retook it.

"Our wounded were taken in the hospital and treated impartially by British and German medical officers," a signalman said. "The Germans agreed that our wounded could be treated there on one condition: that they automatically became prisoners of war once they were admitted."

A medical orderly was going forward in order to bring in a wounded British soldier when he met a German tank dug in by the roadside. He told the tank officer the nature of his mission. "But if I let you go you will return to your lines and report my position," the German said. The medical orderly promised he would not disclose the position, and the German allowed him to complete his task.

A British medical officer went out escorted by a German soldier in order to visit British wounded inside the enemy lines. A mortar bomb wounded the escort, and the medical officer treated him and then carried him to hospital.



PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Stamford Hill 2262All letters on other than editorial matters
should be addressed to the ManagerA FOUNDATION
FOR PEACE

THE Economist lately published a valuable leading article: "Terms for Germany," which argued that one consideration should be paramount in fixing peace-terms for Germany: namely, that the peace should be such that Britain would be willing to uphold in ten or twenty years' time. There could be no policy (said the writer) more certain to lead to disaster than enforcing upon Germany terms of peace which would ultimately be repudiated by the moral sense of the nation—as was the Treaty of Versailles.

A spate of correspondence followed: and a very depressing correspondence it was. Not so much because three-quarters of the correspondents wanted terms of the utmost severity inflicted on Germany, as because hardly one of them had been able to understand the simple argument of the article, which was perfectly clear. Those who read The Economist are a good deal above the level of the man-in-the-street. They belong to the intellectual élite of the country. If their minds are so clouded by war hysteria that they cannot even understand a simple, but exceedingly important argument setting out the limits within which British policy towards Germany must be confined if it is to be sane, it is a poor look-out.

The reluctance of a democracy to militarization may not be a wholly good thing. There is inertia in it as well as decency. But there can be no doubt at all that the good in it vastly preponderates over the bad. The reluctance of democracy to militarization is not something to be ignored or deplored, but a positive moral foundation upon which policy ought to be deliberately built.

The policy of prolonged repression of Germany can be maintained only by a militarized, that is, a non-democratic, or totalitarian society. From this angle, the future of a repressive peace is easy to foresee. USA will be the first to abandon—it may not even ratify—a treaty of repression. There will be left Britain and Russia to enforce it. Either Britain will cease to be a democracy in striving to enforce it, or it will, in striving to remain a democracy, relinquish the onerous and uncongenial task to Russia. For Britain to remain a democracy and at the same time abandon Germany to a new epoch of totalitarianism would be suicide. For Britain to cease to be a democracy in order to keep Germany down would be equally suicide.

Russian policy is easy; ours is difficult. Russia's philosophy is clear; ours is confused. We are now in grave danger of losing something of far more importance than material power—namely, our moral purpose as a nation, which is to stand in Europe and before the world for the conception of civil liberty. That is the basic element in the British conception and practice of democracy. Unless the German people can be won to that conception and practice Britain will have lost this war, and will be fated to lose the next one also. In order to be compatible with the preservation of our own civil liberties, the peace we make with Germany must be one that will enable her to establish hers. That is quite compatible with an insistence on total disarmament, and a systematic purge of Nazi terrorists, whose forbears—by the assassination of Erzberger and Rathenau—so be-devilled the Weimar Republic.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Postal subscription rates: Home: quarterly, 3s. 3d.; yearly, 12s. 6d. Abroad: quarterly, 2s. 9d.; yearly, 10s. 6d.

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Mr. Bernard Shaw on

Conscientious objection

LET no statesman dream," says Mr. Bernard Shaw in his latest book,* "that he can rule out war from the possibilities against which he has to provide until it abolishes itself by its own cost and cruelty."

To talk of war abolishing itself is a figure of speech. Men alone make war; men alone will unmake it. Mr. Shaw means that there will, or may, come a time when the costliness and cruelty of war will seem so frightful to men that they will refuse to make it.

How will this come about? Mr. Shaw says there is only one way:

"The social organization of conscientious objection is the only method now available of preventing a war. So far the only preventive recommended is the Trade Union one of the General Strike"—which always and necessarily fails.

★

SO far so good. The person who reads on in the chapter on Conscientious Objection (in general) will be encouraged—in moderation—to find that Mr. Shaw believes (1) that "conscientious objection to their use (the use of air-bombs) in war grows with their atrocity." It may be so, but the evidence of this war does not prove that it is so; (2) that conscientious objection to such methods is also reinforced by the business objection to their material destructiveness. Again it may be so, but it has not been noticeable; (3) that it is also reinforced by the fact that the slaughter is now indiscriminate. Whereas in former wars leaders could sacrifice battalions "without fearing that the slain would not be replaced by the irresistible urge of the reproductive instinct and the exemption of women and children from the trenches," now the leaders can have no such confidence. "The mothers who survive have learnt a technique of birth-control by which they can refuse to travail merely to supply generals with cannon-fodder."

These more massive reluctances,

*Everybody's Political What's What. Constable. 10s.

Mr. Shaw believes, reinforce the movement of conscientious objection to war.

"A majority of objectors is not necessary: an organized minority could stop war, as it stopped Prohibition in USA."

But, in a previous chapter, where Mr. Shaw equally maintains that "there is a limit to war in the person of the conscientious objector," he goes on to argue thus:

"The mechanization of war greatly reduces the power of the human conscience to keep its abuses in check. It would be hard to induce a youth of ordinary good nature to take a woman with a baby in her arms and tear the two in pieces with a Mills bomb in full view of the explosion. But the same youth, thousands of feet up in a war-plane, preoccupied with the management of his machine and the accuracy of his aim, will release a bomb that will blow a whole street of family homes into smithereens, burning, blinding, mutilating scores of mothers and babies, without seeing anything of his handiwork except the glow of a conflagration which is as pretty as a display of fireworks."

So that we must cancel out the previous argument (1) that "conscientious objection to the use of bombs grows with their atrocity." It does not. Rather it diminishes. With the development of the flying bomb it may diminish still further.

★

THERE remains the business objection to the material destructiveness of war. That may be operative: but not as a financial or business objection—for extant finance and business may well be kept going by the necessities of reconstruction. But it may operate in the form of an immense proletarian pressure upon governments from the homeless. It may make itself felt in London. It may make itself felt in Germany even to the utter disruption of the neat and intolerable political plans of the conquerors.

Secondly, there is the reluctance of women to bear children. That may—as the statistics indicate—produce a situation in which the man-power of Russia will be as great as that of the combined whole of the Western Powers: (USA included). Long before that date "the menace of Russia" will be the common theme of propaganda in the West. Then another situation, foreseen by Mr. Shaw, might arise.

"If, as is not impossible, the Western Powers were to declare war on the USSR, which would mean a war of State Capitalism against Democratic Communism, the number of conscientious objectors might run up to millions and make such a war impossible."

It might. But that depends on the

LETTERS

"Mass man" and the machine

I find myself one who prefers the South "political vacuum" to the Wilfred Welloch high-pressure chamber. If Welloch looks to the sun, South, I suspect, talks to his neighbours. And if he shares his neighbour's bewilderments, he is the more capable of understanding the reality of their human aspirations, and enjoyments.

It is a hard thing to say, but I have long been repelled by the vein of abstract inhumanity in Welloch's writings. The "mass man" whom he views so loftily, like a god above an ant heap—the mass man who rushes about in a motor-car, who thinks of nothing but dog-tracks and cinemas, who is a "cheap imitator of bourgeois materialism," cultivating "endless appetites"—may be an effective composite for propaganda, but he has little human truth.

A case that is argued in terms of mass abstractions and inevitable inevitabilities has no point of application. One cannot offer hope to the man in whom one has no hope. If individual man is Welloch man, he is damned, and we may as well turn aside from him without delay. It may be the realistic decision. But it ought not to be determined either by vague optimism or equally vague pessimism. Meanwhile, I welcome A. E. South's diligence in seeking a word to speak to the ordinary man instead of merely about him.

ALAN STANILAND
62 Worcester Crescent, London, N.W.7.

Whilst British agriculture under the exigency of total war has offset vast imports with intensified and rational farming, surely Mr. Welloch (Letters, Aug. 25) does not believe that this fact substantiates his advocacy of "the technique of the small workshop." The dependence of modern agriculture on increased mechanization makes indispensable combine harvesters, milking machines, row crop cultivators and tractors, etc., yet these are invariably products of the "belt" system; the attendant evils of which Mr. Welloch has so often manifested.

The evils of the machine are not intrinsic: they are the legacy of 19th-century laissez-faire commerce—freedom to employ men and material solely for pecuniary gain. Admittedly by 1800 the machine had bequeathed to the

rising capitalist the weapon which was to inflict final defeat on the old aristocracy, but this conflict had been in progress since the decay of feudalism. The wage-slaves of the early 17th century were protected, not by a Labour government, but by the aristocracy, e.g., a committee of the Privy Council, known as the Commissioners of the Poor, took steps in 1629, 1631, and 1637 to increase wages of textile-workers in East Anglia and an employer was punished with imprisonment in the Fleet for paying in truck.

These points are given to emphasize that although the machine has accentuated the evils of capitalism it is not their root cause: those causes of social malaise which consist of human nature's egotism and greed are ever present. The exploitation of the machine to the detriment of society can only be alleviated by social planning—planning which has yet to resolve the paradox totalitarianism has provided it.

In the narrow limits of a letter it is not possible to deal with political method. By and large I agree with Mr. Welloch that decentralization is essential, but decentralization is not synonymous with hand-looms and isolated cells of good living.

LEONARD V. PIKE
"East and West," Wain Hill,
nr. Chinnor, Oxon.

Peace and democracy

Congratulations to "Observer" (Sept. 22) for discovering that the real explanation of the war is "power"; but he was surely nodding the previous week when he advanced the theory that peace depends upon the "German Might-State" becoming a democracy, which he rather naively defined as a Freedom-State. Certainly war or preparation for it destroys the liberty of the individual, but individual freedom of itself by no means ensures peace, and even genuine democracy, if that were possible, might produce international war more readily than do authoritarian regimes.

War depends not upon the form of internal regimes but upon "foreign policy," and unless this latter can be eliminated by federation or a world-State, rival power elements—working through competitive nationalisms—will assuredly render peace impossible. But seeing that the more democratic governments of London and Paris have in the last hundred years or so waged four or five times as many wars as the less democratic ones of Berlin, it is obviously futile to identify peace with democracy.

JOHN NIBB

BM/JONIB, WC1.



By John Millar

experience which non-Russian peoples will, by that time, have had of government by USSR.

"It is not enough to conquer the world; the conquered must be conciliated by finding themselves better off under the conqueror than they were before he imposed his rule on them... Stalin understands this."

Let us hope he does.

This leads on to the following statement:

"Still, conscientious objection as a legalized institution is too absurd to last. As the State becomes more and more Socialized civil service will be imposed as military service is at present; every able-bodied person will have to work, as every man of military age now has to drill and fight, whether he is a penniless man or a millionaire. Can anyone imagine Conscientious Objection being extended to allow Manchester School Individualists to escape national service on the plea of a conscientious objection to Socialism? Everyone could if Socialism were to do the mischief that war does, and become abhorrent to humane people. But as Socialism has so far proved as enormously productive as war is destructive, this is not likely to occur. Even if it does the remedy will not be a return to Capitalism any more than the triumph of conscientious objection will necessitate a return to unmitigated militarism."

The last sentence is excessively compressed. The triumph of conscientious objection to war means that war is abolished. Such a condition would not be abhorrent to humane people, though it might be to the not inconsiderable fraction of people who like the excitement, the risk and the irresponsibility of war. They might conscientiously object to peace in which case their difficulties might be met by permitting them to fight one another.

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DICK SHEPPARD

OCTOBER is the month when we who are members of the Peace Pledge Union naturally think of Dick Sheppard. On October 16, 1934, he sent a letter to the Press that gave rise to our Union. On October 31, 1937, he died.

Not having known him intimately, I am not attempting an appreciation. But I want to try to answer the question that I know to be in some minds: in view of the passage of time, the changed situation since his day, and the number of our members who scarcely remember him, can we usefully each year look back and recall his life and work? Apart from sentiment, is the link still of value?

Twice recently I have thought about Nurse Cavell. Once when standing by her memorial statue in London. Once when standing in the Cathedral at Peterborough, where she went to school. Consider how her memory can inspire people today. We do not live in her precise situation. But plainly in respect of the principles by which she lived and died she still speaks—service to humanity irrespective of nationality, loyalty to conscience despite the cost, the determination not to cherish bitterness or hatred. In the same way Dick Sheppard speaks.

(1) He recalls us to faith in men and women. How easily we tend to see the worst in others, rather than the best. How easily today we tend to become cynical about human nature. In his dealings with people of all kinds, in his addresses at meetings, in his broadcast sermons and even in his appointment of PPU staff, he showed confidence in people, always believing that they would respond to an appeal made to their reason and innate decency. To that faith he recalls us.

(2) By his persistent striving to avert and end war, and by his conviction that an end could be made of it he challenges our easy acceptance of war today and our readiness to give up the struggle for peace. Against physical infirmity he was a fighter. Against mass inertia he strove. Against conventional public opinion he fought manfully. Of difficulties in the way he thought little. He was confident that the fight for peace could be won, and so must be undertaken. "He being dead yet spoketh."

(3) He recalls us from reiteration of what we will not do to positive statement and action. His pledge may have been negative, but he was not. His life was spent in serving others. St. Martin's crypt bears witness to that; as do the memories of many people who were helped by him. The other day in Lincoln's Inn Fields a stranger said to me that he had been in the choir at St. Martin's, and when he was unemployed an anonymous £10 arrived: how could Dick Sheppard have known about him? To a life spent in positive service he calls us.

* * *

Each morning as I enter my room he confronts me. In a distant town at the top of a long flight of stairs on the way to a meeting we entered "a small upper room furnished" and he confronted us. We shall do well to let him speak to us this month; to consider what he says; to measure our ideas and lives by his; then—I hope—to follow. The fight both within and without is worth while.

PATRICK FIGGIS

CHARLES RODEN BUXTON

As a memorial to the late Charles Roden Buxton, Friends are collaborating with the Anti-Slavery Society to establish in London a library for the use of coloured peoples at the Colonial Centre, Russell Square. The target figure is £3,000, and gifts should be sent to C. W. Greenidge, Anti-Slavery Society, Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday, 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL PROPERTIES to be let or sold in N.W. London and districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.1 (Speedwell 9888, 5 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

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WAR RESISTERS' International would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbe Rd., Enfield.

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LAND AND COMMUNITY C.O., 2 yrs.' experience, desires join farm-community with good facilities for care of daughter aged 3. Preferably where other children. Box 639.

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

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"LEARN TO Speak" by Florence Surfleet, 1s. 6d. (1s. 8d. post free), for use with groups or individually. Headley Brothers, 109 Kingsway, W.C.2.

MEETINGS, etc.

BOURNEMOUTH POST-WAR Reconstruction Group, 5 Wellington Rd., Oct. 13, 7.30 p.m. Agatha Harrison: "India."

AUTHORS' CAST, and the audience that made "A Pacifist Progress" a rollicking success: pleased to meet you all again at first performance of my new production "They Came to a City." For times, etc., see page 4. Leslie F. Pitt.

BIRMINGHAM P.P.U. Members' meeting, 7 p.m., Wed., Oct. 18. Friends' Meeting House, Bull Street. Wilfred Wellock on "Industrial Conscript."

HERBERT H. ELVIN (past-President, T.U.C.) speaking at service (6.30 p.m.) and leading discussion "Industry and the New Order" on Oct. 8. Kingsley Hall, Powis Rd., Bow, E.3. Oct. 15, Patrick Figgis.

PERSONAL

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PACIFIST (31), fond music, reading, walking, etc., would like to meet pacifist with similar interests, with view to friendship. Bristol area. Box 625.

SITUATIONS VACANT

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TRACTOR DRIVER—general farm worker wanted for small Hampshire farm. Must understand machinery and be useful with tools. Some knowledge of building trade an advantage, also experience of market gardening would help. Wife part-time (outdoor) if required. Cottage available. Wage 70s., rent and milk free, £4 after three months. Box 637.

YOUTH HOUSE Community and Club requires vegetarian cook (female). Interest in cultural and social activities desirable. Salary, single divan room and full board. Particulars with age and N.S. position to Organizing Secretary, Youth House, 250 Camden Rd., N.W.1.

WANTED IMMEDIATELY, house-mother for group of 20 children ages 10 to 12. The Belgrave School, Shaw, Melksham, Wilts.

RYDE SCHOOL: Wanted—Resident master to take science throughout the school and some sixth form mathematics. Games a recommendation. Apply with three recent testimonial and photograph to the Headmaster.

YOUNG GIRL wanted to help with two children in pacifist home in Surrey. Live as family. Box 642.

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YOUNG ADAPTABLE woman seeks work; preferably on farm (help generally); could drive horse or car or delivery round. Work as cook or looking after children also acceptable. Write Box 644.

YOUNG WOMAN, pacifist-socialist, child 18 months, seeks position nurse or mother's help with child similar age. Country only. Box 645.

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IN ROME, "I IN 10 WILL BE A CORPSE" BY 1945

UNRRA's aid to Italy will be insufficient

"THE plain fact is that you cannot make a people more democratic, more pacific, or better neighbours by starving them."

The Manchester Guardian (Sep. 28) uttered this salutary warning in a leading article which welcomed the decision of UNRRA to extend a limited amount of relief to Italy.

The decision was not taken too early. The report of the Trades Union delegation to Italy has revealed conditions which must cause grave disquiet.

"The social and economic state of affairs in the liberated part of Italy is impossible to describe... A number of food articles are rationed, and in a general way the rations are forthcoming, but their quantity is insufficient

to include Italy in the scope of UNRRA. Mr. Dean Acheson, the American member, said that the infant mortality rate was now 50 per cent.

"Every tenth man or woman you pass on the street in Rome," he added, "will be a corpse before the end of the year."

His proposal was for the expenditure by UNRRA of \$50,000,000 on medical care, the care of children and pregnant and nursing women, and displaced persons. Since the Allied armies have already spent more than \$100,000,000 on civilian relief in Italy without raising the standard of the people above the level described in these reports, it is clear that UNRRA's new contribution will still be far from adequate.

Indeed, there is some doubt as to whether adequacy was ever the goal. As far as the military relief period is concerned, the Combined Chiefs of Staff have declared that "The supplies programmes for this period are calculated on a standard of provisioning designed to prevent disease and unrest among the civilian population." And UNRRA spokesmen have often emphasized that their organization is based as much on the self-interest of its members as on humanitarian principles.

This careful denial of idealistic motives is probably intended to calm the fears of those Americans who are anxious that the USA shall not be called on to play Father Christmas to the whole world. But, in the case of Italy, it was necessary to persuade many of the members of UNRRA before they would agree to the American proposal.

ASIATIC VIEWS

The decision to endorse the proposal to extend aid to Italy was also supported by the Indian member, Sir Girja Shankar Baipai, because, as he said: "We in Asia feel that chivalry, especially chivalry tempered with prudence, is nobler than revenge."

—Times report of UNRRA Council meeting.

★

One delegate went on record. China's Tsiang Ting-fu favoured making the necessities of life available to the Japanese after the war.

—Time (USA), Sept. 25.

to maintain a minimum standard of health, especially for those who work. Supplementary food must therefore be bought in the free market of the unrationed foodstuffs or at the black market."

That these sources of supply are beyond the reach of all but the rich is clearly shown by figures given in the report. Thus, "a very modest meal in a third-class restaurant costs between 100 and 200 lire"; the average worker's wages are from 65 to 150 lire per day.

In introducing the resolution to

Words of Peace — 93

If either a religion or a philosophy is too much in advance of a nation, it can do no present service, but must bide its time until the minds of men are ripe for its reception... Every science, every creed has had its martyrs. According to the ordinary course of affairs, a few generations pass away, and then there comes a period when these very truths are looked upon as common-place facts, and a little later there comes a period in which they are declared to be necessary, and even the dullest intellect wonders how they could ever have been denied.

—Henry T. Buckle, "History of Civilization in England."

Next week's PEACE NEWS will be a six-page issue

PACIFISTS DISCUSS SOME POLITICAL ISSUES

A week-end school on "The Pacifist and Politics" was held in Northampton on Sept. 23 and 24.

Howard Whitten opened the session on "The Pacifist and Fascism" with an account of the origins, nature and development of fascism. Its roots lay in political disorder, economic despair and frustrated imperialism. It was undeniably a popular movement claiming to be all things to all men, not merely the group whose interests it ultimately served. Because of the abolition of the democratic safety valve, the minimizing of discontent was more necessary than under democracy; so every sectional interest had to be subordinated to the alleged will and interests of the nation.

Howard Whitten believed that fascism was unlikely in this country owing to the strength of liberal tradition and relative maturity. Other speakers saw in the present policy of the trades unions a situation which, if Britain's bid for exports were thwarted, might be exploited to establish a fascist State.

Donald Port outlined the history of the trades union movement. He pleaded that pacifists should recognize their common responsibility for present social conditions, that they should get inside the large workers' organizations existing to improve those conditions, and they should cease pretending that digging ditches was any more relevant to revolution than "manning the barricades."

This invitation was not received enthusiastically by the meeting, which evidently thought that the trades unions had abandoned any idea of socialism and were too degenerate to be revitalized by pacifist influence.

ELECTION PROBLEMS

In leading the discussion on "The Pacifist and Elections," Henry Hilditch was mainly concerned that pacifists should avail themselves of every democratic means to improve social conditions. This was generally accepted, but his contention that political action was the only way or even the best way of securing a change, and that refusal to take an active part in politics was tantamount to a vote for the status quo, was contested.

Discussion on the problem of choice between Tory and Labour candidates both committed to conscription revealed general inclination to support the latter, though the view was expressed that the political

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

Above the law

A PERTINENT example of the difference is the difference between Dumbarton Oaks and the Moscow declaration. "90% agreement is disagreement," says The Observer (Oct. 1) drily. The problem over which the Dumbarton Oaks officials have beaten their heads in vain is the Russian insistence that any one of the Big Three (or Four or Five) shall have the power to veto common action against "an aggressor," even when it is a party to the dispute. Such a veto amounts to a plain declaration that Russia is to be judge in its own case.

As The Times correspondent (Sep. 30) says, it is an issue on which no compromise is possible. Yet, he says, it was obviously not contemplated that such an issue would arise when the Moscow declaration was made. "No mechanical arrangements can save the League if great nations become recreant to its purpose. But mechanical arrangements which are on their face inequitable may surely have an evil effect on moral, insensibly leading those controlling power to feel that 'justice is the interest of the stronger.' In any case it can be predicted with some confidence that many small and medium-sized nations will reject such arrangements." (Washington correspondent, Sunday Times, Oct. 1.)

Fake alliance

AND that is where the world is—at the political level—with nothing better in sight than a fake "alliance" of the Big Three on the basis of "we hold our own"—especially when it happens to be somebody else's. What that will mean is an effort for military preparedness which will exhaust the moral as well as the physical energies of Britain.

The Times (Sep. 29) reports Mr. Churchill as saying that we have to have our opinions accepted "by other Powers as great as and greater than we are." That was candour, indeed. But second thoughts deleted the significant words, which do not appear in Hansard.

"It is clear that neither of our Allies is waiting for complete agreement between the three Powers before developing its policy and that in Eastern Europe at least Russia is putting hers into effect by means of detailed armistice terms which are peace-treaties in all but name."

So says the Manchester Guardian (Sep. 30). The situation that has already developed is one which makes agreement between the Big Three impossible. No wonder Churchill has struggled to secure that Britain shall hold the Rhineland and the Ruhr.

The Gandhi-Jinnah talks

THE Gandhi-Jinnah conversations have ended in absolute deadlock. Jinnah plainly wants Pakistan while the British are there to give it him. And just as plainly it suits the British book that the fundamental disagreement between political Moslems and political Hindus should be manifestly insuperable. Incidentally it is a demonstration that the mechanical "getting of people together"—so frequently offered by pacifists as a panacea—is vain unless there is the prior will to reach agreement.

It also suggests that if the British Raj did not exist it might be necessary to invent it. The Indian capitalists have done very well out of it during the last five years. As for the Indian peasant, I have never seen much hope for him, whether the British "quit India" or not.

FOOD FOR INDIA

"Must India Starve Again?" is the title of a new leaflet just issued by the Indian Freedom Campaign. Concisely it explains why the question needs to be asked, and urges what should be done:

"Send more food ships before October. Call UNRRA in right away. Get the Indian leaders out of detention-without-trial and hand over power to an Indian Government. No representative Indian Government could afford to make the mess of things that we have made. It would be political suicide."

To be effective, the leaflet needs rapid and widespread distribution.

It costs 1s. 6d. per 100, post free, from the IFC, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., London, W.C.1.

FRATERNIZATION

To the Editor

Hitler forbids fraternization between German civilians and the Allied Forces; Eisenhower backs this up!

Is that where the two Supreme Commands meet—in a common fear of any expression of human decency in war—even between soldiers and civilians?

T. H. IBBETSON.

Can Britain increase its exports?

THE Liberal Party, in conference, has decided that we must increase our exports. The increase proposed is £250 millions annually. This is the amount of free-gift money we used to get because investors abroad were thrifty. Leading members of the Conservative and Labour Parties say we must increase our exports. The Federation of British Industries, and the National Union of Manufacturers do not show the same exuberance. They have first to ask the question: *Can we increase our exports?*

The problem of increasing exports does not sound so difficult when we use the word "exports." Manufacturers, however, have to get down to details. They have to ask themselves how can we increase the exports of cotton, coal, and manufactured articles. They have to ask: what countries will take them? They have been asking that question ever since James Watt invented the steam engine and Mr. Hargreaves erected factories in which to blow off the steam.

No new idea

The decision to increase exports is not a new crusade. It arose acutely in 1919 when Mr. Lloyd George issued his clarion call: "We must export more and import less."

That small section of the public whose memory goes back for more than 24 hours will not need to be reminded of the crusading spirit which swept the nation in 1931. They will remember the appeal of the 1931 National Government to increase exports and the demand of the Labour Party in its election manifesto for greater efficiency in industry. The Party declared its opposition to tariffs because "they were clearly no cure for unemployment. They would permanently injure our shipping and export trades and cancel our need for greater efficiency in industrial organization. . . . The Labour Party demands efficiency."

Apart from the need to rearm, what was the net result of all the appeals, exhortations, and demands? In 1929

"Why prolong it?"
— Douglas-Home

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

denied German officers and men for doing likewise . . .

After telling of his refusal to fight at Havre, Capt. Douglas-Home says the German commander there "offered to evacuate all civilians, which offer was refused." The letter continues;

"Since the battle of Le Havre, in which several thousand civilians lost their lives, I applied to be allowed to visit the German Commander in Boulogne with a view to reaching some agreement whereby a second tragedy might be avoided.

"I sat in my jeep, with beside me a pair of newly-washed pants to serve as a white flag, waiting for an answer to this application. Like my application to stand for St. Albans last November as the 'Anti-unconditional surrender' candidate, it did not come. Now as I write, explosions a few miles down the road denote the passing of men, women and children condemned to die because their leaders dare not use the gift of speech, for fear that they shall use it wrong . . .

"Let some of your correspondents who dislike the expression of what I conceive to be the truth, write to Mr. Brendan Bracken—whose job it is to tell the public everything—and ask him what happened to the German request made last November, offering to evacuate France, Holland and Belgium, etc., in exchange for peace.

SOLDIERS DO NOT HATE

"As a result of this correspondence in your columns and elsewhere, I expect to be the most hated man in England. Not, however, by the Forces. Soldiers do not hate. Theirs is not to reason why—so cheerfully and bravely, incredibly and unbelievably bravely, they do and die.

"Finally, by my action, if it achieves nothing else, perhaps it will make it easier for those who share such views to step forward and express them. 'Wars,' as Napoleon said, 'always continue until the soldiers refuse to go on fighting.' Perhaps in the next war the speechless masses, who have to die for the sentiments expressed by their leaders and their hangers-on, will find it in their hearts to reason why.

"In a way, though not more than normally religious and by no means a moral paragon, I am doing the work of the Church in trying to produce a case based on justice against the overwhelming power-political propaganda of the other side . . .

"Perhaps I shall languish for a few years under the pleasure of the Home Secretary who once had views far more idealistic and less practical than mine. He used to say, 'I refuse to countenance war.' I say, 'War exists but why prolong it?'

Roy Walker, Secretary of the Food Relief Campaign of the P.P.U., who (as we reported last week) was fined £5 for refusing a direction to land-work, has paid the fine. When doing so, he referred to the magistrate's refusal to send him to prison, saying he felt it called for a "reciprocal gesture."

our total exports were £693,469,000. In 1933, the year before we went to safeguard the frontiers of Poland, the total exports were £470,000,000. Thus it will be seen that if we are to get back to the prosperity of 1929 when there were 1½ millions unemployed and 1 million on the Poor Law, we will require to increase our exports, not by the £250,000,000 suggested by the Liberals, but by £500 millions.

The question is, were our manufacturers not trying to increase exports between 1931 and 1938? Were they still being inefficient? If so, how will they become efficient enough to increase exports, even by £250 millions? There were other obstacles besides inefficiency on the part of the British manufacturer. And this difficulty seems to arise when we examine the basis on which all the optimistic demand for increased exports rests.

Have we forgotten?

The first cause of optimism in political circles is that the world will be famished for goods—that the long pent-up demand for consumer and producer goods will be such that there will be a boom. Have we forgotten that all this was said in the last war, and what the League of Nations Economic Committee had to say on the matter?

Its 1931 report said on page 1: "In Europe wealth was destroyed on an unprecedented scale." The world machines began to turn in 1919, and on page 14 of the League Report we learn that between 1919 and 1925 "Output increased by 16 per cent, population by 6 per cent. Thus the aggregate destruction of wealth caused by the war had been made good; and the world as a whole was already in these years richer than before the war."

That was the world in general. What of Britain in particular? In 1919, it will be remembered, Mr. Lloyd George made his appeal for increased production to fill the empty well. In 1921 he informed us "the well is full." Mr. Frank Platt of the Lancashire Cotton Corporation has recently informed us that one year of intensive production had glutted the cotton market.

More to Brazil!

What are the other grounds for optimism? So far as I have seen there is one. It is Brazil. We have already set up a branch of the British Council for cultural relations, and inevitably Cabinet Minister holds out hopes of an increase in exports to Brazil. Can we double our exports to Brazil?

Actually the trade with Brazil was so small that Mr. Runciman did not find it worth while to bother about a trade agreement with that country while he was at the Board of Trade (1931-35). It took 6s. 9d. per head of the Brazilian population, Cuba took 11s. 3d. With Cuba, Uruguay, and Peru things were different. After the trade agreement Cuba took £863,000 of exports, Uruguay took £2,200,000, Peru took £1,069,000. If we double our exports to all these countries that will mean an additional £4,000,000 towards the £500 millions. If we double to the Argentine, even, it will be another £19,000,000. This makes £23,000,000, plus 6s. 9d. per head to Brazil.

But we have already exhausted every device to increase exports to the Latin Americans. We made a special effort at the end of the last war. In The Times recently a headmaster reported that all the better schools were then urged to concentrate some effort on teaching Portuguese. All the German pre-1914 trade was there for the picking up if we could pick up the language. That effort was not altogether successful for the then Prince of Wales had to go again in 1931. He reported that efficient local industries were growing up in nearly all the South American Republics.

New obstacle

He made no mention of a new obstacle that had grown up since the last war. In pre-1914 days Germany invested money in the Latin Americas. In 1919, America, who had been a debtor nation before the war, was lending money to South America. Says the League of Nations report: "The new capital issued floated in the United States for the account of Latin America rose from 34 million dollars in 1919 to 230 million dollars in 1921 and 224 million dollars in 1922."

That money had helped to develop local industries. As money it was useless. It was the machines it bought which gave the money its value, but inevitably all the economic laws will compel these countries to trade with the lending country.

Look where we will the question we must face is not: Can we increase exports? Economic development has now reached the stage at which we must ask: Is the old system finally dead, and what is to take its place?

What is the alternative offered to the British public? Social security. The old competitive industrial system could not give social security in its vigorous manhood. How can it give social security in its decline?

JOHN SCANLON

NEGOTIATED PEACE CAMPAIGN IN BIRMINGHAM

Birmingham P.P.U. Council has held successful open-air meetings every Wednesday lunch-hour throughout the summer in the Bull Ring.

Speakers have been Harry Hilditch, Arthur Field, Ernest Fletcher, the Rev. Richard Lee, and others. The attendance has averaged 200, and is increasing—the erection of the P.P.U. stand bringing many people away from other attractions immediately to hear "The case for a Negotiated Peace." Some listeners put intelligent questions after the speeches.

Seven meetings, with no loss of attendance, were held during Negotiated Peace Week.

'CHEMICAL WARFARE' — THAT WASN'T

"It is disclosed today"—reported the Daily Express, Sept. 26—"that the Germans tried chemical warfare against Britain in 1940. Packets of red powder were dropped in the West of England in September that year. The powder caused acute dermatitis by contact with the human skin. One man was treated in hospital."

The following day the Express admitted that the assumption that chemical warfare had been tried was incorrect:

"The powder was an aniline dye issued to German airmen so that if they were brought down into the sea, the water would be dyed red over a wide area and make it easier for rescue craft to spot them."

It also said:

"For four years Defence Regulations have preserved for security reasons the secret of how 'chemical warfare' came to the village of Pucklechurch."

The promptness with which the error in the first report was corrected is commendable. But can we be sure that other "atrocities" are more firmly grounded in fact? "Security reasons" is a disarming phrase. Behind it we shall doubtless see—if we live long enough—many instances in which we have been fooled into taking less than a half-truth for unquestionable fact.

MORE "GUINEA-PIGS" NEEDED

Readers will recollect, from articles in Peace News, the part that pacifist volunteers have played in medical research at the Sorby Research Institute at Sheffield. Six more volunteers are now urgently required to act as guinea-pigs in a nutritional experiment.

Men in good health can be accepted. To comply with regulations of the Ministry of Labour they should have either unconditional exemption or conditions including hospital work, or should not have appeared before a Tribunal. Application forms can be had from the Institute at 18, Oakholme Rd., Sheffield, 10, or from Pacifist Service Bureau, Dick Sheppard House.

October 21st-28th

C.O. FELLOWSHIP WEEK

ARE YOU TAKING PART IN THE NATIONWIDE PLANS?

ONLY A FORTNIGHT LEFT

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NORTH LONDON REGION, P.P.U.

North London Players present

THEY CAME TO A CITY

by J. B. Priestley

produced by Leslie F. Pitt, L.R.A.M. on Saturday, October 14, at 6 p.m. Cripplegate Theatre, Golden Lane, E.C.1.

All seats numbered and reserved.

3/6, 2/6 and 1/6.

Proceeds to further the P.P.U. work begun by Dick Sheppard.

Tickets may be obtained from: Dick Sheppard House; London Area P.P.U. Office; Peace News Office.

HARVEST FAST

The members of the East Midlands Area propose fasting on

October 14th and 15th

as an expression of unity with suffering people of all lands. They hope those of a like mind will join them.

ASTHMA, CATARRH, HAY FEVER ENDED

Send 1d. stamp for booklet of "Sanolen," the Great Remedy recommended and used by Doctors all over the world.

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